Realist and Liberal Roads to Security

I. Realist Security
   A. Nuclear Deterrence
   B. Conventional Deterrence
   C. Economic Sanctions

II. Liberal Security
   A. International Law
   B. IGO’s
   C. Integration
Realist Security

"Si vis pacem, para bellum" (If you want peace, prepare for war)

Balance of Power and Deterrence

Effective deterrence requires:

- Capabilities
- Credibility
- Communication

Rational Calculation
A. Nuclear Deterrence

- Phases of American Deterrence Strategy
  - Nuclear Coercion (1945-62)
    - ‘massive retaliation’
  - Mutual Deterrence (1962-1983)
    - Mutual Assured Destruction (MAD) – ‘Balance of Terror’
    - Second Strike Capability
    - Nuclear Triad (Land, Sea, Air)
    - Nuclear Utilization Theory (NUTs)
A. Nuclear Deterrence

- **Defensive Deterrence (1983-1993)**
  - Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI – ‘Star Wars’)

- **Unfocused Deterrence (1993-Present)**
  - De-targeting and START
  - Proliferation and Rogue States

- National Missile Defense (limited system deployed)
National Missile Defense

- US out of ABM
- Deployment of Limited System
B. Conventional Deterrence

- Conventional deterrence a question of:
  - Size of Military
  - Quality of Military
  - Force Projection Capabilities

- Trends for US since End of Cold War
  - Decline in military spending
  - Increase in frequency of non-traditional operations
US Defense Spending

- Percentage of Federal Budget
  - 1960 = 52.2%
  - 1985 = 26.7%
  - 2004 = 19.6%

Source: Statistical Abstract of the United States
C. Economic Sanctions

- Attractive because non-violent alternative
  - Worked: South Africa
  - Failed: Cuba, Iraq, North Korea

- Fails when it:
  - Increases national unity (in target)
  - Harms citizens, but not leaders
  - Lack of consensus in International community (Helms-Burton)
  - Easy to get around

- Generally, sanctions DO NOT WORK!
II. Liberal Security

A. International law (Public and Private)

- Sources (i.e., Custom [diplomatic immunity]; Treaties; Generally Accepted Moral Principles [unprovoked attack])
- Not pacifistic (EX: Just War Doctrine)

Problems

- No Enforcement Authority
- Countervailing Principles (Sovereignty v. Genocide)
- Law and Power
B. Intergovernmental Organizations (IGOs)

- Forum for dispute resolution
- Creating stable expectations and trust
- Implementing collective security (if above fails)
- ONLY works if the states involved willing or able to make it work!
C. Integration

- Greater cultural, political and economic contact reduces chances of conflict
  - MODEL: Western Europe
- Globalization as Integration
- Globalization as Fragmentation
  - ‘Clash of Civilizations’
- **Democratic Peace Hypothesis:** Democracies do not fight other democracies because of
  - (a) Common Values
  - (b) Democratic Constraints
Which road to take?

- Realist road to security is one of peace through strength.
- Liberal road to security is peace through international institutions and common norms and values

Q: Which is more effective?
- Can use both!!!